Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 133283 ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY USOAS:MDION:JD APPROVED BY ARA - MR. LUERS USOAS:REWHITE S/S-O; RPERITO DESIRED DISTRIBUTION ARA ONLY

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O 091753Z JUN 77 FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 133283

EXDIS FOR TODMAN FROM LUERS AND MCGEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OAS

SUBJECT: VII OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY -- STRATEGY PAPER

FOLLOWING IS STRATEGY PAPER FOR SECRETARY'S PARTICIPATION IN OASGA. THIS IS IN ADDITION TO SCOPE PAPER FOR THE ENTIRE TRIP, WHICH WE SENT TO YOU YESTERDAY.

- 1. BEGIN TEXT. STRATEGY PAPER: A SEPARATE SCOPE PAPER FOR YOUR TRIP TO THE CARIBBEAN DESCRIBES THE OVERALL OBJECTIVES OF YOUR TRIP, YOUR BILATERAL MEETINGS AND YOUR VISIT TO TRINIDAD. THIS PAPER SKETCHES OUT THE INITIATIVES WE PLAN TO TAKE ON THE AGENDA ITEMS IN THE OASGA AND EXPLORES:
- -- HOW BEST TO PRESENT YOUR IDEAS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS.
- -- HOW THEY ARE LIKELY TO RESPOND. CONFIDENTIAL

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- -- HOW TO HANDLE THE HIDDEN AGENDA AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A LATIN AMERICAN COUNTERATTACK ON HUMAN RIGHTS.
- 2. OVERVIEW -- OUR OBJECTIVES:

WE WANT:

-- TO REASSURE THE LATIN AMERICANS ON HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT WEAKENING OUR STAND;

- -- TO DEMONSTRATE OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN LATIN AMERICA: AND
- -- TO SHOW THAT WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE ARE LINKS BETWEEN TERRORISM/REPRESSION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT/INCOME MALDISTRIBUTION.

WE ALSO WANT TO PRESS FOR MODERNIZING AND RESTRUCTURING THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AS A PART OF OAS REFORM IN A WAY THAT WILL EQUIP IT TO PLAY A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING, MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, CULTURAL/EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE AND DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE MAY FACE MORE THAN SKEPTICISM ON THE PART OF SOME LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS ABOUT OUR REAL INTENTIONS. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE SOUTHERN CONE STATES MAY TRY TO COORDINATE THEIR ATTACK ON OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, CALLING IT INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND A FORM OF INTERVENTION CONDEMNED IN THE OAS CHARTER. THEY MAY ALSO COMPLAIN THAT OUR CUTS IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND NEW ARMS SALES POLICIES ARE CONTRARY TO OUR COMMITMENTS UNDER THE RIO TREATY TO COMMON DEFENSE OF THE HEMISPHERE.

3. OUR STRATEGY CONFIDENTIAL

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- -- USE YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR A USEFUL EXCHANGE ON KEY ISSUES THAT WE CAN ATTEMPT TO TRANSLATE INTO SATISFACTORY RESOLUTIONS IN THE FORMAL SESSIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.
- -- CALL FOR A LARGER BUDGET AND MORE COOPERATION TO STRENGTHEN THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND THUS PROMOTE A MULTILATERAL APPROACH TO THE MOST DIVISIVE ISSUE IN HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS.
- -- ADVOCATE THOROUGHGOING RESTRUCTURING OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN FOR COMPROMISE ON THE NEW CHARTER OF THE OAS, WITHOUT THE EXPECTATION OF IMMEDIATE RESULTS BUT IN HOPES THAT NEEDED REFORMS WILL EVENTUALLY BE MADE.
- -- ADDRESS DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN A REGIONAL FRAMEWORK IN A WAY THAT DEMONSTRATES THAT SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS IN THE REGION DEPEND ON A GLOBAL APPROACH TO TRADE, INVESTMENT AND COMMODITIES.
- 4. THE GA ENVIRONMENT

IN 1975, WE LED A SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO SUBSTITUTE

INFORMAL PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS FOR THE INTERMINABLE PUBLIC ADDRESSES AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE NEW FORMAT LENDS ITSELF TO AN OPENING STATEMENT BY YOU, PERHAPS AFTER ONE OR TWO OTHERS HAVE SPOKEN, DESCRIBING THE CENTRAL FOREIGN POLICY AIMS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, THE RESULTS TO DATE, AND HOW WE VIEW LATIN AMERICA IN THIS CONTEXT. FOR EACH OF THE ISSUES ON THE INFORMAL DIALOGUE AGENDA, WE HAVE PREPARED A BRIEF INTERVENTION FOR YOU TO DELIVER, STATING US VIEWS AND SEEKING AN EXCHANGE OF IDEAS. A SET OF FOLLOW-UP TALKING CONFIDENTIAL

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POINTS ON SOME KEY TOPICS IS AVAILABLE TO USE IN THE GENERAL DISCUSSION. THE INFORMAL EXCHANGE IS A UNIQUE FEATURE OF THE OASGA AND IS A VALUABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR A RELATIVELY FREEWHEELING DISCUSSION OF HEMISPHERIC PROPOSALS.

5. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AGENDA

THE 33-ITEM ASSEMBLY AGENDA IS FIXED. FOR THE INFORMAL DIALOGUES, HOWEVER, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL PROBABLY ADOPT THE FOLLOWING SET OF TOPICS IN THE ORDER SUGGESTED BY THE PERMANENT COUNCIL:

- 1. PANAMA CANAL NEGOTIATIONS (A JOINT US-PANAMA STATEMENT WILL BE NEGOTIATED)
- 2. REFORM OF THE OAS
- 3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
- 4. SAFEGUARDING HUMAN RIGHTS
- 5. U.S. TRADE ACT OF 1974 (GSP FOR ECUADOR/VENEZUELA)
- 6. CULTURAL/EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE
- 7. INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM
- 8. PEACEKEEPING
- 9. PLACE AND DATE OF THE VIII OASGA.

FOLLOWING YOUR TOUR D'HORIZON IN THE INITIAL INTERVENTION, WE WILL PROPOSE INITIATIVES ONLY ON TOPICS 2,
4, 6 AND 8 (REFORM OF THE OAS, HUMAN RIGHTS, CULTURAL/EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE AND PEACEKEEPING). ON THE OTHER ISSUES, WE WILL RESPOND TO THEIR PRESENTATIONS. IN
THE CASE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WE MAY FACE A STRONG RESPONSE TO OUR INITIAL INTERVENTION. IT WILL
PROBABLY BE TIED TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL
TERRORISM, ADDED TO THE AGENDA AT THE LAST MINUTE
WITH THE BACKING OF ARGENTINE, CHILE AND THE OTHER
SOUTHERN CONE STATES. NO PROGRAMATIC DECISIONS ARE
TAKEN AT OASGAS BUT A TONE IS SET IN THE INFORMAL
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DIALOGUES THAT CARRIES OVER INTO LATER COMMITTEE WORK AND HELPS SHAPE THE FINAL RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AT A CONCLUDING PLENARY SESSION.

6. REFORM OF THE OAS

WE VALUE THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM -- THAT COMPLEX OF TREATIES AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE HELPED MAINTAIN PEACE AND ORDER IN THE HEMISPHERE. THE CENTERPIECE. THE OAS, HAS FALLEN INTO A DECLINE WHICH THREATENS THE SURVIVAL OF THE ENTIRE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. AN EXPENSIVE, SWOLLEN BUREAUCRACY AND COUNCILS GIVEN OVER TO IRRELEVANT, CONTENTIOUS DEBATE ARE SYMBOLS OF ITS DECLINE. IT IS IN OUR SELF-INTEREST TO FOCUS THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ATTENTION ON THIS UNHAPPY STATE OF AFFAIRS AND CALL FOR A NEW APPROACH. OVER THREE YEARS HAS BEEN WASTED WHILE THE OAS TRIED TO REFORM ITSELF. THE MAIN RESULT IS A VERBOSE, POORLY WRITTEN AND CONCEIVED NEW CHARTER FULL OF PROVISIONS WE HAVE REJECTED THROUGHOUT THE DRAFTING PROCESS. LAST YEAR. WE ATTEMPTED TO REFOCUS THE ATTENTION OF MEMBER STATE GOVERNMENTS ON THE INADEQUACIES OF THE DRAFT CHARTER IN AN EFFORT TO AWAKEN INTEREST IN A SERIOUS RESTRUCTURING OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. AGAIN THIS YEAR, OUR PROPOSALS CALL FOR MAJOR CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP, STRUCTURE AND FINANCING OF THE OAS.

THROUGHOUT NEARLY FOUR YEARS OF REFORM NEGOTIATIONS, OUR IDEAS FOR CHANGE HAVE BEEN QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE AIMS OF MOST OTHER OAS MEMBER STATES. THEY WANT TO INVOLVE US IN A POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THEIR FIRST PRIORITY. WE HAVE TRIED TO MAKE THE OAS A MORE RESPONSIVE, COHERENT ORGANIZATION, ABLE TO SET GOALS AND WORK TOWARD THEM. TO LESSEN STERILE DEBATE, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO REDUCE THE ROLE OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL AND BUILD A MORE FLEXIBLE, LESS CONFIDENTIAL.

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BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE THAT WILL BE MORE EFFECTIVE AND LESS CONFRONTATIONAL. LAST YEAR AT THE GA WE EVEN PROPOSED ELIMINATING THE PERMANENT COUNCIL BUT WE BELIEVE SUGGESTING MERGER OF ALL THREE COUNCILS WILL MEET A MORE FAVORABLE RECEPTION.

WE ALSO BELIEVE A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOW REASSESSED THE DRAFT CHARTER AND MAY BE PREPARED FOR A COMPROMISE WITH US ON SEVERAL OF ITS WORST FEATURES. THE LATINS ARE PROBABLY AS CONSCIOUS AS WE THAT THE OAS HAS SERIOUS FUNCTIONAL SHORTCOMINGS AND MAY BE READY TO TAKE ACTION ALONG THE LINES PRESIDENT CARTER SUGGESTED IN HIS APRIL L4 SPEECH. THE PRESIDENT SPOKE

ADMIRINGLY OF THE OAS BUT SAID IT SHOULD BE READIED FOR A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING, INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONSULTATIONS, EDUCATIONAL/EXCHANGE AND DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE DID NOT MENTION ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

THE PRESIDENT'S IMPLICIT CHALLENGE IN THE OAS SPEECH COM-BINED WITH GROWING CONCERN THAT OUR PLAN TO REDUCE OUR CONTRIBUTION TO 49 MAY PRESAGE A US PULLOUT ARE POWERFUL INDUCEMENTS TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM. HOW TO TRANSLATE TECHNICAL EXPERTISE INTO POLITICAL ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IS NOT A PROBLEM UNIQUE TO THE OAS. BUT IT NEEDS ANALYSIS AND PRESCRIPTIVE TREATMENT. WE WANT TO SUGGEST A BLUE RIBBON STUDY PANEL TO WRITE A REPORT ON THE FUTURE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND RECOMMEND CHANGES IN THE OAS. IT WOULD PROPOSE SOME DISPOSITION OF THE CONTROVERSIAL DRAFT CHARTER AND ADDRESS THE LARGER QUESTION OF STRUCTURAL MODERNIZATION. YOUR INTERVENTION WILL MAKE CLEAR OUR INTEREST IN A REVIVED OAS WITHOUT DISPELLING THE CONCERN THAT WE MIGHT NOT STAY IF THEY RAILROAD THROUGH THE NEW CHARTER AND UNDERTAKE NO COMMITMENT TO REAL REFORM. CONFIDENTIAL

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SOME OF OUR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ARE:

- -- KEEP FORMAL STRUCTUCTURE TO A MINIMUM;
- -- MERGE THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (CIES) AND EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COUNCIL (CIECC) WITH THE PERMANENT COUNCIL;
- -- CONVENE SPECIAL MINISTERIAL-LEVEL AND OTHER CONSULTATIONS AS NECESSARY TO TAKE ACTION ON IMPORTANT MATTERS;
- -- ADOPT THE PRINCIPLE THAT NO STATE SHOULD PAY MORE THAN 49 PERCENT OF THE ASSESSED BUDGET.
- 7. SAFEGUARDING HUMAN RIGHTS

WE WANT TO ASSURE LATIN AMERICA THAT OUR STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS GLOBAL AND A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY BUT THAT WE WANT TO PURSUE OUR GOALS THROUGH THE MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE. WE INTEND NO UNILATERAL INTERVENTION IN THEIR AFFAIRS BUT INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND OUR OWN VALUES FORCE US TO CONSIDER HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE BILATERAL CONTENT AS WELL.

STRONGER MULTILATERAL MACHINERY IS THE BEST HOPE FOR

ENSURING THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE UPHELD IN THIS HEMISPHERE

WITHOUT POISONING BILATERAL RELATIONS AMONG OAS MEMBER STATES. WE RECOGNIZE THAT SOME OF THESE SOCIETIES ARE UNDER ASSAULT BY TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS THAT STOP AT NOTHING. YOU SHOULD DENOUNCE TERRORISM BUT BE PREPARED TO POINT OUT THAT DENIAL OF POLITICAL RIGHTS CLOSES OFF LEGITIMATE AVENUES TO REDRESS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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SOMETIMES LEADS TO VIOLENT EXPRESSION OF DISSENT. YOU SHOULD ALSO MAKE THE POINT THAT COUNTERTERRORISM IS EQUALLY DEPLORABLE BECAUSE THE PERVERSION OF JUSTICE BY ITS SWORN DEFENDERS IS CERTAIN TO UNDERMINE THE FOUNDATIONS OF LEGAL ORDER AND THREATEN THE WHOLE FABRIC OF CIVILIZATION.

ANGER IS GROWING AMONG SOME LATIN AMERICANS AT WHAT THEY SEE AS AN OVERLY MORALISTIC AND INSINCERE ATTITUDE ON OUR PART. THEY MAY COUNTERATTACK BY CHARGING THAT OUR CUTBACK OF BILATERAL ASSISTANCE UNDER VARIOUS CONGRESSIONAL AMENDMENTS AND OUR LAW TYING INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK LOANS TO HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE ARE RETARDING THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. THEY MAY ALSO CHARGE THAT OUR CONCENTRATION ON ABUSES IN LATIN AMERICA, WHILE IGNORING WORSE CASES IN MORE STRATEGIC COUNTRIES, IS HYPOCRITICAL. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO RESPOND TO THESE ALLEGATIONS IF THEY ARE MADE, IN PART BY NOTING THE PROVISIONS OF LAW COVERING ASSISTANCE TO THE POOREST PEOPLE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WHATEVER THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD.

WE COULD ALSO SEE A CAMPAIGN TO LINK OUR RELUCTANCE TO TRANSFER RESOURCES TO THE THIRD WORLD WITH OUR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IN THIS CASE TO THE DETRIMENT OF SUCH ECONOMIC RIGHTS AS FOOD, WORK AND A DECENT LIFE. ON BOTH THE FORMAL AND HIDDEN AGENDAS, HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE TOPIC A AT THE VII OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

RECENT EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES, CHIEF TARGETS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CRITICISM, MAY BE PLANNING A COUNTEROFFENSIVE GEARED TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. A CHIEFS OF STATE MEETING IN ASUNCION SEEMS TO HAVE FALLEN THROUGH BUT SOUTHERN CONE FOREIGN MINISTERS ARE MEETING IN GRENADA BEFORE CONFIDENTIAL

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YOUR ARRIVAL. THEY MAY ARGUE THAT REPRESSION IS A NEEDED RESPONSE TO TERRORISM. YET IN MANY COUNTRIES,

THERE IS REPRESSION WITHOUT TERRORISM AND IN OTHERS, REPRESSION EXTENDS FAR BEYOND TERRORISTS TO LEGITIMATE POLITICAL GROUPS AND PEACEFUL SPOKESMEN OF DISSENT.

OUR DEFENSE OF US ACTIONS TO DATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND OUR REASSURANCES ABOUT THE FUTURE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS DEPEND IN LARGE PART ON STRENGTHENING THE IAHRC. WE WILL PROPOSE INCREASING THE IAHRC BUDGET SO THAT IT CAN HANDLE A VASTLY INCREASED CASELOAD AND DO ITS JOB OF MONITORING MORE EFFECTIVELY. WE WILL ALSO PROPOSE A RESOLUTION URGING ALL MEMBER STATES TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE IAHRC, PARTICULARLY IN PERMITTING ONSITE VISITS BY COMMISSION MEMBERS TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLAINTS.

8. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

WE WILL PRESENT NEITHER A GRAND HEMISPHERIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN NOR A BASKET OF INITIATIVES AT THE GA. WE WILL REEMPHASIZE OUR COMMITMENT TO GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS ON MAJOR ISSUES, INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE HEMISPHERE, AND A BROAD DEFINITION OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. WE PLAN TO INCLUDE IN YOUR INTERVENTION AN ELABORATION OF THE STATEMENT ON FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THE PRESIDENT'S OAS SPEECH. WE WILL WANT TO REITERATE U.S. SUPPORT FOR A LIMITED NUMBER OF STRICTLY REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY ON TECHNOLOGY.

THE U.S. STANCE AT LAST YEAR'S OASGA SHOWED OUR COMMITMENT TO COOPERATE ON SOLUTIONS TO DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS. WE WILL WANT TO REAFFIRM AND AUGMENT THAT IMPRESSION, DRAWING ON THE THEMES OF THE PRESIDENT'S OAS SPEECH AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S PRESENTATION TO CONFIDENTIAL

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ECLA.

- -- WE WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT MOST OF THE PRESSING DEVELOPMENT ISSUES -- TRADE, COMMODITIES, FINANCE, INVESTMENT -- WILL CONTINUE IN THE POST-CIEC ERA TO BE HANDLED IN GLOBAL FORUMS BUT THAT THE RESULTS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BENEFIT LATIN AMERICA.
- -- WE WILL WANT TO CONVINCE THE LATIN AMERICANS THAT WE ARE NEGOTIATING IN THESE GLOBAL FORUMS IN GOOD FAITH AND ARE TAKING PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THEIR NEEDS.
- -- WE WILL STRESS, AS THE PRESIDENT DID, THAT IMPLE-MENTATION OF THIS POLICY IMPLIES A COMMITMENT TO HEMISPHERIC CONSULTATIONS, BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTI-

LATERAL, ON THE GLOBAL ISSUES; THE OASGA, AND ESPECIALLY THE INFORMAL DIALOGUE, IS PART OF THAT PROCESS.

- -- WE WANT THEM TO KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL SUPPORT AN EFFECTIVE AID PROGRAM THAT IS DEVISED CLEARLY AND SPECIFICALLY TO MEET HUMAN NEEDS BUT THAT OTHER RICH NATIONS MUST ALSO MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS.
- -- WE WILL WANT TO MAKE CLEAR OUR VIEW THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVE IS MORE THAN ECONOMIC GROWTH: AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT ARE SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT -- BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENEFITS OF GROWTH, MORE ATTENTION TO BASIC HUMAN NEEDS, AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-EXPRESSION
- 9. CULTURAL/EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

THE CRITICAL ISSUE HERE IS LACK OF MONEY. THE UNITED STATES IS THE ONLY OAS MEMBER THAT CONTRIBUTES NOTHING TO CONFIDENTIAL

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THE VOLUNTARY \$550,000 SPECIAL CULTURAL ACCOUNT. THE LATIN AMERICANS CRITICIZE US OFTEN FOR THIS OMISSION.

OUR QTE VOLUNTARY UNQTE OAS CONTRIBUTIONS COME FROM THE AID BUDGET, AND PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS INTERPRETED "DEVELOPMENT" TO EXCLUDE CULTURAL PROGRAMS. WE WILL ASK CONGRESS FOR SPECIFIC AUTHORITY TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE OAS SPECIAL ACCOUNT FOR CULTURE FROM THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SECTION. ON MAY L6 WE SENT A LETTER TO OMB ASKING ENDORSEMENT OF OUR REQUEST TO CONGRESS OF A SUPPLEMENTAL 2.5 MILLION DOLLARS IN THE FY-78 BUDGET, 500,000 DOLLARS OF WHICH IS FOR THE SPECIAL CULTURAL ACCOUNT.

IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S OAS SPEECH, HE MADE A COMMITMENT TO INCREASE U.S. COOPERATION WITH LATIN AMERICA IN PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES. A SIZABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CULTURAL ACCOUNT NOW WOULD HAVE AN IMPACT FAR OUT OF PROPORTION TO ITS COST.

OMB HAS NOT RESPONDED TO OUR REQUEST OF MAY 16. YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ANNOUNCE A 500,000 DOLLARS CONTRIBUTION TO THE CULTURAL ACCOUNT UNLESS WE OBTAIN OMB APPROVAL WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

10. PEACEKEEPING

THE PRESIDENT ON APRIL 14 CALLED FOR A MAJOR PEACEKEEPING ROLE FOR THE OAS AND FOR A RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING

TERRITORIAL DISPUTES. WE WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE WHAT THE OAS HAS DONE IN THE PAST AND RELATE IT TO TERRITORIAL ISSUES IN A GENERAL WAY WITHOUT AROUSING A CONCERN THAT THE U.S. IS ANXIOUS TO INSERT ITSELF IN LONG SMOULDERING LOCAL PROBLEMS. (BUT YOU SHOULD

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NOT BE DRAWN INTO DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC DISPUTES OUTSIDE YOUR BILATERALS.)

11. PANAMA CANAL NEGOTIATION

THE PANAMA NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOW MAKING SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, ALTHOUGH CONSIDERABLE WORK STILL MUST BE DONE BEFORE A TREATY WILL BE READY FOR SIGNATURE. OUR OBJECTIVE AT THE OASGA SHOULD BE TO OBTAIN THE SUPPORT OF MEMBER STATES FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF A SOLUTION WHICH IS MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE TWO NEGOTIATING PARTNERS. AT THE LAST TWO GENERAL ASSEMBLIES, A JOINT U.S.-PANAMA REPORT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS SUBMITTED, OUTLINING IN GENERAL TERMS THE LIKELY SHAPE OF AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT BUT AVOIDING SPECIFICS. PANAMA HAS JUST INFORMED US IT IS NOT INTERESTED IN A JOINT STATEMENT AT THIS YEAR'S OASGA. THIS WILL BE DISCUSSED WHEN YOU SEE AMBASSADOR LEWIS LATER THIS WEEK. WE STILL HOPE TO WORK OUT AN AGREED STATEMENT, THEN WORK FOR A BALANCED RESOLUTION WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS BUT WILL NOT ENGAGE IN UNNECESSARY POLEMICS.

12. THE HIDDEN AGENDA

CUBA

SUSPENDED FROM THE OAS IN 1962, CUBA REMAINS A FORMAL MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS STATUS VIS-A-VIS THE US AND THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM WILL PROBABLY BE DISCUSSED PRIVATELY. WE BELIEVE OUR EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE ALL OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES IS IN KEEPING WITH THE SAN JOSE RESOLUTION OF 1975, GOVERNING OAS MEMBER STATES' RELATIONS WITH CUBA, AND IS IN THE LONG-RANGE INTEREST OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE.

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NEW CARIBBEAN MINI-STATES

FULL OAS MEMBERSHIP FOR THE SIX CARIBBEAN MINI-STATES NOW MOVING TOWARD INDEPENDENCE WOULD SEVERELY REDUCE

LATIN CONTROL OF THE OAS BY INSURING NON-LATIN VOTING MAJORITIES. THE ISSUE IS SYMBOLIZED BY THE LONG STRUGGLE OVER WHETHER TO HOLD THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN GRENADA, THE FIRST CARIBBEAN MINI-STATE IN THE OAS. THE LATINS WILL STRONGLY OPPOSE (AND THE CARIBBEANS STRONGLY SUPPORT) FULL OAS MEMBERSHIP FOR THE FIRST OF THE SIX, DOMINICA, ON ITS INDEPENDENCE THIS NOVEMBER. WE WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS THE MINI-STATE PROBLEM AS PART OF OVERALL REFORM OF THE OAS BY ADVOCATING FULL AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP IN THE ORGANIZATION. FULL MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE RESERVED FOR STATES HAVING CERTAIN POPULATION/GNP LEVELS AND ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE COSTS OF THE OAS. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS WOULD HAVE RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION IN OAS MEETINGS BUT WOULD PAY NO DUES AND NOT VOTE.

13. SECRETARY GENERAL ORFILA

YET ANOTHER ITEM ON THE HIDDEN AGENDA OF THE OAS IS THE PERSONALITY AND PRESTIGE OF ITS SECRETARY GENERAL. ACCUSATIONS OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST HAVE BEEN LEVELLED AT HIM IN THE PERMANENT COUNCIL FOR HIS HANDLING OF VENEZUELA'S EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUNDS FOR GUATEMALA. IN AN EMOTIONAL SCENE IN THE COUNCIL, ORFILA DENIED ANY PERSONAL MOTIVE WAS INVOLVED AND ALL BUT THE VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR JOINED IN A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. DOUBTS REMAIN, HOWEVER, FUELED BY A PRICE-WATERHOUSE REPORT STRESSING THE NEED FOR CONFLICT OF INTEREST GUIDELINES FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MAY WELL DISCUSS AMONG THEMSELVES HOW TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE IF ORFILA'S INTEGRITY IS SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED. ORFILA'S PRIVATE BUSINESS INTERESTS LEAVE HIM EXPOSED CONFIDENTIAL

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TO CHARGES OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST AND WE DO NOT WANT TO TAKE THE LEAD IN HIS DEFENSE. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z

Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, HUMAN RIGHTS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Control Number: n/a

Copy: SINGLE Sent Date: 09-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE133283
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00

Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: USOAS:MDION:JD Enclosure: n/a

Executive Order: 11652 GDS

Errors: n/a **Expiration:**

Film Number: D770206-0376

Format: TEL From: STATE **Handling Restrictions:**

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197706110/baaaewdm.tel

Line Count: 528 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c9219e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators:

Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY EXDIS

Reference: n/a Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 12-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 2013835 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: VII OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY -- STRATEGY PAPER

TAGS: PORG, CO, OAS To: BOGOTA

Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c9219e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009